1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

131 tera. Not all of them have identical customs, and it is well known that important cultural differences exist between the indigenes residing north of the Cautín River and those living to the south of it.[2] This monograph deals only with the Araucanians north of the Cautín River, in the area bounded by Carrarriñe, Cautinche, Renaco, and Cholchol (Map 2).

161 There is no way of knowing at present when the aboriginal settlement of Araucanía took place, nor is there any precise way of determining the exact number of Araucanians extant. Statistics vary from official government figures of approximately one hundred thousand to unofficial estimates of three hundred thousand.[3] Part of the discrepancy may arise from the fact that there is no longer any clear indication of race by means of which one can distinguish a full-blooded Araucanian from a mestizo or a rural Chilean. Nor is it always easy to define an Araucanian in terms of culture. The best single test seems to 101 be that of language. In fact, it has become customary to class •197 as an Araucanian any person who habitually speaks the native tongue. Thus, Araucanian has come to refer not only to the language itself but also to one who speaks it. In their own speech, the Indians call themselves Mapuche ("people of the land"), and throughout this monograph the words Araucanian and Mapuche will be used interchangeably to signify either the aboriginal language or the natives who speak it.

101 There is a strong likelihood that a number of non-Araucanian peoples once lived in the territory under discussion. Various efforts have been made, notably by Guevara and Latcham, to identify these groups and to indicate their locations. The late Father Cooper reviewed and summarized all the available data, and recognized a number of distinctive regional or tribal subdivisions, such as the Picunche of northern middle Chile, the Mapuche and Huilliche of southern middle Chile, and the Pehuenche on the higher slopes of the Andes. Since most of these have been absorbed or exterminated, Cooper put the greatest emphasis on what is clearly the main surviving body

[2] Latcham, 1924, pp. 263 ff.
[3] Braud, 1941a, p. 24; and Cooper, 1946, p. 695.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By DONALD D. BRAND

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once spoken by the many Indian groups between the Río Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit.

Probably the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 1536, when some of Diego de Almagro's scouts advanced into central Chile. However, it remained for Pedro de Valdivia, in 1541, to conquer all of Araucanian Chile earlier held by the Incas (to the Río Maule), and to push southward across the Río Bío-Bío into the forest home of the unconquered Araucanians. Here, in 1553, Valdivia lost his life to these Indians—led by Lautaro and Caupolicán. The conquest was continued by García Hurtado de Mendoza, in whose small army was Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid 1533-1594 Madrid). Although Ercilla spent only seventeen months in Chile (1557-59) his *La Araucana* has been considered the greatest epic poem in the Spanish language. This work was commenced in Chile, concluded in Spain, and was published in Madrid in three parts which appeared in 1569, 1578, and 1589. Although good poetry and fairly good history, *La Araucana* ennobled the Indians exceedingly and cannot be relied upon ethnographically. Similar in vein were *El Arauco Domado* (Lima, 1596), by a Chilean creole Pedro de Oña (Angol 1570-1643 Peru), which was good poetry but which made the Indian a highly romantic figure, and *Purén Indómito* (finished in 1599), by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (born about middle of XVI century).

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by triumphant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Bío-Bío—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1655, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Bío-Bío. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1792) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1773-1859 was one almost of peace, excepting for the participation of many Araucanians on the side of the royalist Spaniards against the republican creole Chileans in the War for Independence, 1810-1826.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

cedrus chilensis). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

The "*Pehuenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intercordilleran valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intercordilleran valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°20′ to 40°20′ S.

The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q.v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaianecas Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher intercordilleran valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S., whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* piñons, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Olaverría, 1852, p. 15) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear. Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly nonlinguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30, 63: 150–72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Pietas in 1729 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492–93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1658" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Pehuenche*" ("*Pegüenche*"). The piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1658" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 136, 143–44, 152, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46–47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1653 through the upper cordilleran "*Pegüenche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Pegüenche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

mention of the "*Pegüenche*" so doing. And, further, most at least of the "*Pegüenche*" personal and local names he records appear to be *Araucanian* (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 198, 203; 3: 431–38).

The seeming conflict between the evidence from Rosales, Pietas, and Molina on the one hand and that from the "Proceso criminal de 1658" on the other is largely solved if we assume that the "*Pehuenche*" of the last source were not identical with the "*Pegüenche*" of the first three sources. Such an assumption of nonidentity is well within the probabilities in view of the very loose and variant use of this and other tribal denominations in our earlier as well as in our more recent sources. The assumption receives some positive confirmation from the fact that the "*Pegüenche*" chieftains' names mentioned by Rosales as of 1650–53 do not coincide with those recorded by the "Proceso criminal" as of 1658. Nor, seemingly, do the habitats assigned to the two groups coincide. Neither Rosales nor the "Proceso criminal de 1658" gives us very precise data thereupon. But by piecing together the scattered clues in each source, we can infer with reasonable probability that Rosales' *Pegüenche* lived in the high Cordillera flanking what is now central and southern Neuquén Territory from about lat. 38° S. to the neighborhood of Lake Nahuelhuapí (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 176, 198, 211, 269, 468–69; 3: 431), and that the *Pehuenche* of the "Proceso criminal de 1658" occupied territory well north of them, about the latitude (ca. 36° 30′) of Cerro Payén, in the western part of what is now the southern extension of Mendoza Province (Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, pp. 136, 138, 143, 147, 151), and perhaps somewhat east of the main Andean range, since one at least of the *Pehuenche* examined in 1658 testified that he was "natural de Payén" (ibid., 143).

In view of the foregoing evidence (about all we have which bears significantly on our problem, as the cultural and somatological evidence adduced by Latcham is hardly relevant) it would appear somewhat more probable than not that the pre-18th-century piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" of the early Chilean chroniclers were *Araucanian*-speaking. But a definitive solution of the problem, if it is ever reached, will have to await much fuller study of the already published evidence—especially cautious analysis of recorded local and personal names by trained linguists thoroughly competent in the *Araucanian* and Pampean tongues—or the discovery of further pertinent archival documents.

As previously noted, the *Araucanians* did not begin to occupy in any large measure what is now Argentine territory until about the beginning of the 18th century. Thereafter, the main bodies of the migrants tended to keep more toward the Andean foothills and the western half or third of the Pampa from about the Limay to Mendoza Province—a point on which more details will be given in the following section on Tribal Names and Divisions.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

early period reduced greatly. Mariño de Lovera remarked (1865, p. 448) that after 50 years of warfare, where formerly the Indians had been counted in thousands, they were then (circa 1594) to be reckoned in fifties. Hard labor under the encomienda system in the fields and mines and towns also took its toll as did likewise, it would seem, disease (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 200) and social disorganization.

The Chilotans, who at first contact are estimated to have exceeded 50,000, had a little over two centuries later dwindled to 11,000 (Olivares, 1864, p. 61; 1874, p. 365); great numbers of them were in the early 17th century captured, taken away, and sold as slaves.

Estimates of present-day *Araucanian* numbers will depend a good deal upon what we understand by "*Araucanians.*" The Chilean census of 1907 listed 101,118, that of 1920, 105,162, all between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. Brand (1941 a, p. 23) was informed that the Chilean Government recognized the existence of some 187,000 *Araucanians*. He was also told by an *Araucanian* leader, Martín Collió Huaiquillaf, that a population of 300,000 was claimed in 1941. "If we count as 'Indian' anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 *Araucanians* probably is not too high" (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24; cf. 1941 c, p. 83). This estimate, and Brand's estimate of 200,000 Indians speaking *Araucanian* dialects, appear to be our best ones.

The *Araucanian*-speaking Indians in Argentine territory are variously estimated to number from a few hundred to 3,000 or 4,000 (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24). In Mansilla's time, 1870, the *Ranquel* alone were estimated by him to number 8,000 to 10,000 (1877, 2:274). Fasulo, in 1925, estimated the total Indian population of the Pampa and Patagonia, including the *Araucanian* elements, at about 7,000 (1925, p. 161).

From the middle to the end of the last century great reductions in the native population from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao took place as a result of wars and feuds, of smallpox and cholera epidemics, and, apparently, of alcoholism. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the *Araucanian* population of Chile appears to have been steadily increasing.

LANGUAGE

Araucanian is an independent linguistic family. Each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but these are mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts (such as, e. g., *r=s=d*, *n=ñ*, *t=tr=ch*), different meanings for the same word, different words for same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutually intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

(Félix José, 1910, pp. xi–xii; 1916, 1:vi). Speakers of a given dialect are apt to pride themselves on using better *Araucanian* than speakers of another, and make fun of the latter's manner of speech. In all dialects there is a more elegant mode of speaking, resorted to especially in meetings of leaders. *Araucanian* has incorporated a considerable number of loan words from *Quechua*.

HISTORY

The recorded history of the *Araucanians* begins with the first *Inca* invasion of their territory under Tupac Yupanqui, who reigned probably circa A. D. 1448–82. The *Inca* frontier was finally fixed at the Río Maule. By the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in *Araucanian* Chile, *Inca* governors had been appointed in the provinces as far south as the Río Maipó, tribute was being exacted, and outpost forts had been erected between the Río Cachapoal and the Río Maule. But the influence of *Inca* culture upon *Araucanian* in this northern zone does not appear to have been very profound.

First contact between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards took place in 1536 when Diego de Almagro with his main army penetrated to Aconcagua, some of his men getting as far south as the Río Maule. But the permanent occupation of *Araucanian* territory began with Pedro de Valdivia, who, setting out from Cuzco in early 1540, reached the valley of Mapocho early in 1541, and founded the city of Santiago on February 12 of the same year. During the following 12 years, to 1553, he established footholds, founding cities and building forts, as far south as Villarica and Valdivia. In 1558, García Hurtado de Mendoza extended the invasion to Chiloé. There followed four decades of bitter warfare between the Spaniards and the *Araucanians*, which came to a head with the death in 1598 of the governor, Martín García de Loyola, and the almost total destruction of the Spanish settlements in *Araucanian* territory south of the Bío-Bío River.

The struggle continued intermittently through the 17th century, giving place in the 18th, with the inauguration of less oppressive policies, to relatively peaceful relations, broken chiefly by the uprisings of 1723, 1740, and 1766. The last stage of the three-and-a-half-century-long struggle was ushered in around the middle of the 19th century, with the impulse then given to foreign immigration into Chile and to White infiltration into the *Araucanian* frontier region. The last uprising of the *Araucanians* began in 1880, and ended with their definitive pacification in 1882–83.

In general, throughout this long period, from 1541 to 1883, relatively little opposition from the *Araucanians* was experienced north of the Río Maule and south of the Río Imperial by the Spaniards; most of the struggle occurred in the central *Araucanian* territory be-

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

nal home and gradually invade an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling originally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the *Atacama*. Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in 1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples, who were related to one another and belonged to the same linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the people of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the southernmost of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Pehuenche* (in *Araucanian*, pehuen, "pine," + che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and infiltrations.

Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*, did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Mariño de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1563 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the Araucaria pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolicocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient burial grounds in the same area.

This earliest tall, thin, dolicocephalic people, who neither spoke *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coincides approximately with that of the Araucaria pine, i. e., the Cordil-

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

lera between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized*. This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanians*. This elemental process of *Auracanization* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1846), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified: The *Pampa*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The Andes in the region of the Araucaria pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* infiltrations first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the now-*Araucanized Pehuenche* was to the north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche* de Cuyo, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date)1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

Araucanians, the results should everywhere be identical or similar. Considering the *Araucanian's* manner of living, the century and a half of their occupation of the territory east of the Andes was not sufficient time for them to become differentiated. The different groups of eastern *Araucanians* remained very similar to one another in their physical appearance as well as in their culture and language.

We lack exact anthropometric data on the Argentine *Araucanian* stature, but according to different historical sources they were of a "medium" stature, that is, an average height of 5.4 to 5.6 feet (1.65 to 1.70 m.). This is understandable because they were the result of the mixture of the short *Araucanians* of Chile with the taller *Pehuenche* and the other Pampa tribes.

According to craniological measurements published by Ten Kate (1893), the majority (80.6 percent) of the *Araucanians* from the plains are brachycephalic like those of Chile, and 19.4 percent are dolicocephalic like the old *Pampa*. This is as would be expected.

Their culture was also of mixed origin. Features of *Pampa* origin included their lack of cultivation of the soil; use of the classic skin toldo; the bolas (boleadora) as the principal weapon, together with the spear; their diet of half-raw mare meat and hot blood, and their mythology and the name of their spirit of evil, Gualichu. From Chile came men's and women's garments, ornaments, weaving, silverwork, wooden plates, spears up to 16 feet (5 m.) long, part of their social organization, and some funeral practices.

Finally, their language differed from that of Chile in certain peculiarities, such as their tendency to change the *r* into *s* and the *t* into *ch*.

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8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

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THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bio-Bio River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bio-Bio River lived the Picunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Picunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1924), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most assiduous students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring histor-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Picunche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepúe, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepúe] and in Toltén, Panguipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Panguipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucarias grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucarias grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucarias also grow."

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called those of Alepúe area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche."

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a means of subsistence.

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigifredo, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Pewenche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true."

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepée: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepée school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.) 191

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7). [212]

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field assistant Araucanian. "Mapuche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalül correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lül as a syllable." Picking up an avellano nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the ŋefü. Now say that word: ŋefü." 193

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic famliy; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutally intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696). 197

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtun (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However, 537

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzaneros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzaneros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 184 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[161] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically [197] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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871 there [25 years old] spent one month in school," said a 50-year-old man. "He does the work now that I taught him to do: he planted our wheat, potatoes, oats, and peas, and looks after our cattle, sheep, and other animals." Kolupan, when young, wanted to learn to read and write. "My brother," he explained, "had learned to do so in Valdivia. But there was no one to teach me. So I taught myself to read. I looked at words wherever I saw them and asked those who could read what the words said and how to pronounce them. I can now go to the bakery or store and read the names of things I want to buy. I can read the name of the wine I want, too; they cannot sell me a kind that I do not want."

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 Today, within many families and among Araucanians themselves
186 everywhere, the native language is still spoken; a very few old persons who live in isolated regions and some very young children speak it exclusively. All persons except the very old and very young speak Spanish also. Informants, on several occasions, expressed displeasure with Araucanians who were ashamed to speak their native language within the hearing of non-Araucanians or let it be known that they spoke it. "But one old woman down there in Quilaquina is proud of our language; she teaches Araucanian words to children, or to anyone else, whenever she has an opportunity." "I speak Araucanian," said a 48-year-old man, "but my children do not. Our people are stupid today, they do not want to learn the Araucanian language or to hear it spoken." The language of no other people, including that of the Tehuelche, their nearest neighbors immediately to the south, was known to have been spoken by the Araucanians.

● 197 Dialectic differences in the Araucanian language as spoken in Chile and in Argentina were pointed out. "But it is all Araucanian; we can all understand one another." Variations in words were also pointed out. Kolupan called the rainbow wümke; other Argentine informants called it kemu or remu; in Chile kemu kemu is a ceremonial stick used by the machi (sorcerer). In Chile an olla is called challa; in Argentina, siŋiol. An ax in Argentina is a toki; in Chile, a kachal. A pig is ʃafiwe in Chile; koafue, in Argentina. Foreign words that have been adopted are both adaptations from the Spanish and words taken over from the languages of the Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní, people to the north with whom the Araucanians traded. (Cf. pp. 356-357 for trade.) Words adapted from the Spanish are: kawallu or kawell from caballo (horse); waka from vaca (cow);

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

manʃana from manzana (apple); fasterra from bandera (flag, banner). Words taken from the Quechua are: lacar (lake, Lacar), neuquén (territory, Neuquén), and patagonia; also chiripe, chilipa, and chilipau, all three meaning pants. La pampa is Guarani. Molinari noted that the Araucanian language as spoken in Neuquén territory, and no other area, has many words accented on the last syllable; he did not believe this to be a dialectic difference but due to Guarani influence, the Guarani language having many words accented on the last syllable. It is a historic fact, Molinari pointed out, that the Araucanians occupied the region around the delta of the La Plata River over a long period of time; that while doing so they and the Guarani from the northern tributaries of the La Plata associated freely and carried on considerable trade. 197

A 59-year-old Araucanian woman told of the method used by the Argentine army in the early days to teach the Araucanians the Spanish language. "Oyartrun was witness to what I am going to tell you," she remarked; "he was an old man when he told it to me. I also knew the White man about whom I am going to tell you. The cacique of the lofche [governmental unit, pp. 346-351] of which Oyartrun was a member was Katrikura. These Araucanians were living near the place now called Rio Colorado. A troop of armed White men came upon them and fired their revolvers at them. Our people had only boleodoras and lances; they fought so well that the Whites had to flee. Our people killed everyone they laid hands on, except one White boy, about 15 years old, whom they took captive. The boy screamed and fought for himself. No one came to his rescue; his parents had fled with the rest of the Whites. Our men tied the boy's hands to his back and brought him to Katrikura. Katrikura said to the boy, 'What are you doing here?' But the boy did not understand Araucanian, and therefore could not answer. Katrikura then said to the people, 'We shall keep him and rear him and he will teach us Spanish.' And they learned Spanish from him, and this is how they learned it: An Araucanian would point at water or fire or wood or some other things and say to the boy, 'What is this?' The boy would call it by its Spanish name. And our people would repeat it after him. And this went on for a long time. The boy was growing older, always teaching Spanish. One morning, the cacique took the boy out into the open, just as the sun was rising, and said to him, 'My son, when you are 20 or 25 years old, and wish to marry a virtuous Araucanian girl whose father is rich, you may do so.' The boy looked at the cacique and said, 'Very well, father.'—He looked upon the cacique as his father.—The cacique said, 'I will help you; I will give you land and 648 368

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilised Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witnessing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it